1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY 4

177 particularly the Maritime Koryak of northern Kamchatka who have embraced Christianity, are exceptions to this rule. They have the same pitiful and humble appearance as the Kamchadal, Yukaghir, and Tungus, and carry out submissively each and every order of the cossacks and the Russians in general. Evidently the process of Russianization, combined with two centuries of oppression by the Russian authorities, has brought about this change in the primitive character of this branch of the Koryak.

727 During the time of the subjection of the Koryak, full-grown men in the villages or camps, unable to withstand longer the besieging Russians, often killed their dogs or reindeer, their women and children, and finally themselves, if they could not escape by flight. Such a state of things discouraged even the conquerors. Similar instances of wild self-destruction while battling for their freedom occurred later on as well, when the Russians were suppressing 669 the Koryak rebellions. These rebellions were caused by the levying of the fur-tribute (yassak), or by the demand of the Russians for hostages. These demands the Koryak refused to grant, though other Siberian tribes, with the exception of the Chukchee, complied with them.

(181) Strictly speaking, the Koryak were not on the whole opposed to the fur-tribute, which they considered an offering to the Czar; but the extortionate demands made by the cossacks and officials for furs and services for themselves were contrary to the Koryak sense of justice and his love of freedom. The rebellious spirit of the Koryak was not crushed with the suppression of the revolts.[1]

609 An old man from the Kamenskoye village told me that he could remember seeing, when he was a child, Russian merchants accompanied by cossacks come to trade, and that, fearing an attack, they stopped outside the village. It was only when the Koryak came out to them unarmed that trade began. Even very recently the chief of the Gishiga district travelled through the Koryak villages and camps under the protection of an armed body-guard.

651 In the sixties of the last century the chief of the Gishiga district, Volkov, ordered a drunken Koryak from the village of Kamenskoye to be beaten with rods when he came to Gishiginsk. The relatives of the man determined to flog the Russian chief in Kamenskoye, where he was expected to arrive as usual for collecting tribute of furs. When Volkov heard of this, he sent two cossacks for the tribute, instead of going himself. As soon as they arrived in the settlement, they were stretched out and flogged, and then sent back to Volkov to tell him that now he might come, since the indignity to their relative was avenged.[2]

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[1] For a more detailed account of the relations between the Russians and the Koryak, see the historical sketch in Chapter XIV.

[2] From the Report of Ratkevich, the successor of Volkov, chief of the Gishiga district, to the Governor of the Maritime Province, Dec. 31, 1886, No. 404 (Government Archives of Gishiga).

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

The same official, Volkov, was for a long time unable to collect the fur-tribute from the Koryak of Shestakovo village. When some of these Koryak came to Gishiginsk with furs to sell to the merchants, Volkov ordered the furs to be confiscated. The Koryak went away empty-handed. When, after that, Volkov passed the village of Shestakovo, the Koryak surrounded the underground house where he stopped and tried to beat him. The chief drew his sabre, and with its flat side struck over the back a Koryak who was trying to get at him. Then all the Koryak fell upon the chief, but they were held back by his body-guard of five cossacks. The cossacks, in the Koryak language (which the chief did not understand), begged the Koryak not to ruin them by acts of violence on the chief. The Koryak yielded to the entreaties of the cossacks on the promise of a present of powder, and after the Koryak who had been struck by the chief had been allowed to pass his hand over the back of the chief's coat (without his knowledge of it), thus simulating a return stroke.[1]

In the Report cited above there are other facts of a similar nature. For instance, District Chief Mazurkevich, when visiting the village of Kamenskoye in 1872, provoked by the insolence of the Koryak I'velqut, struck him in the chest to drive him away. I'velqut attacked the chief, but was caught by the latter's body-guard, and driven out of the underground house. In a few minutes the house was surrounded; and the cossacks of the guard, seeing that they were unable to shield Mazurkevich from harm, offered themselves as a propitiation for the insult. The Koryak were satisfied with this substitution, and gave the cossacks a thrashing.

To give an idea of the Koryak customs and manners, I will cite here some incidents of my personal intercourse with them. In the fall of 1900 some Koryak from Kuel took my companions, myself, and my luggage, in two skin boats, from the mouth of the Paren River to their settlement. I asked them what they wanted in payment for their trouble. They held a consultation among themselves, and asked for twenty bricks of tea. It must be borne in mind that they were then out of tea. In summer they do not come in contact with the Russian merchants, and their supply laid in during spring is quickly consumed. If by chance a Russian merchant were to come among them in the fall, he would charge from two to three rubles for a brick of tea.

Now, the distance by sea from the mouth of the Paren River to Kuel is about twelve miles. According to local conditions, the price set by the Koryak was too high, and I asked them if they did not think it was too much. The elder of the Kuel settlement, old Euvr'npet, replied angrily and impatiently, "If thou findest that it is too much, then we do not want any

[1] Told by a cossack who participated in the quarrel.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 R14 Koryak R14

III. — HABITAT AND VILLAGES.

WANDERING-PLACES OF THE REINDEER KORYAK. — At the present time, Reindeer Koryak are found mainly in two of the four districts into which, for administrative purposes, the Russians have divided the northeastern part of the Maritime Province; namely, in the Gishiga and Kamchatka districts. Only five families were found in the Anadyr district, while in the Okhotsk district but a few men were left.

The greater part of the Reindeer Koryak roam over the Gishiga district. They keep to the interior of the country, and frequent mainly elevated, treeless tundras covered with lichen. During severe frosts they come down to the valleys, where the trees offer protection from the winds, and supply fuel for their fires. In summer the Reindeer Koryak ascend with their herds to the summits or high mountain slopes. The winds that blow freely there, the low temperature, and the never-melting snow of the gorges and ravines, free those locations from mosquitoes, which in summer are so abundant in low and woody places. For the same reason the Chukchee of the extreme north drive their herds in summer to the open tundras of the cold shores of the Arctic Ocean.

The Reindeer Koryak usually wander in groups consisting of a few families. There are no definite boundaries between the wandering-places of the various groups. It sometimes happens that separate families wander far from their native places, leaving the groups to which they originally belonged for one reason or another; as, for instance, on account of quarrels, lack of pastures in the old places for their reindeer, or the establishment through marriage of new family ties. I met families on the Palpal Mountains whose native place was on the Taigonos Peninsula, while, on the other hand, among the Taigonos Koryak there are people who have come from the Far East. According to Patkanov's statement, some members of the Opuka Reindeer Koryak are found on the Gishiga River, and a few families of the Gishiga Reindeer Koryak wander on the Palpal Mountains. On the whole, every group has its own wandering-places, though the limits are not well defined. Within this region, single families, or small groups of families, have their chosen places where they spend certain seasons of the year.

Thus the Reindeer Koryak form territorial groups. For purposes of taxation the majority of these groups are called "clans" (Роды) by the Russian Administration, and the tribute levied on them was formerly paid off in furs only, but at present they are at liberty to pay either in money or in furs. Elders are appointed for each of these clans. The Koryak themselves do

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

not know the names of the clans. On a part of the Reindeer Koryak, as we shall see later on, no tribute has been levied as yet, and they have not been given any clan-name.

The number of Koryak, Reindeer as well as Maritime, may be gathered from old official data, from those of the 1897 census, and from data collected by Mr. Bogoras and myself. The old official data — reprinted from year to year in the government reports, almost without change — relate to those groups only which were assessed for tribute, and the numbers there given are less than the actual numbers.

The statistics of the census of 1897 are more reliable.[1] This census was supposed to be taken on the same day over the entire empire; but in the sparsely settled districts of Siberia the enumerators spent several weeks covering each territory. Some of the remote places — for instance, the northern part of the Palpal, or the centre of the Parapol Dol — were never visited by enumerators, but they obtained their information second-hand. Nevertheless, the data of the census of 1897 are very nearly correct. The census bulletins of 1897 relating to northern Siberia have been worked up at the Central Statistical Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior in St. Petersburg by S. K. Patkanov, the first editor of that Bureau; but the results have not been published as yet. Mr. Patkanov,[2] however, has published a brief summary, based on the census, of the statistical and geographical data of the palæasiatic tribes, among which are the Koryak. I shall quote further from these data under the name of Patkanov. Mr. Patkanov also had the kindness, at my request, to send me from his material more detailed statistical data on the Koryak, of which also I shall make use.

The data collected by Mr. Bogoras and myself refer merely to those places which we visited personally, and will serve in verifying statistics relating to certain groups only.

We must distinguish the following groups of Reindeer Koryak.

Gishiga District. — 1. The Koryak of the Taigonos Peninsula (Taigono'-talu, i. e., "the people of Taigonos"). They spend the winter seasons along the valleys of the rivers Topolovka (Maka'la'nu-ve'yem[3]), Kilimadja (Kili'-mačwon-ve'yem), Matuga (Ma'tukan-ve'yem), Chaibuga (Poye'm-ya'n-ve'yem), and Avekova (ıļa'taña-ve'yem[4]). Three or four families only roam in winter along the valley of the Gishiga River (Wui'vo-ve'yem[5]). In summer they ascend the mountains where these rivers have their sources. For the purpose

[1] This census was the first general enumeration of the people of the Russian Empire, not for purposes of taxation, but for statistical purposes only.

[2] See Part I, list of authorities quoted, p. 10.

[3] "River of the poplar people," from ma'kan ("poplar"); the Russian word "topol" (тополь) also means "poplar." The banks of this river abound in poplar-groves.

[4] ıļa'taña means "eye-woman."

[5] Wu'ivo formerly meant a fortified settlement, later on it was applied to Russian fortresses and also to Russian houses. Wu'ivon is now the Koryak name of the town of Gishiginsk.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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Shatiloff's campaign was the last undertaken from the fortress Anadyrsk. The Government had long before come to the conclusion that the subjection of the Koryak required the erecting of a number of fortresses along the Bay of Gishiga, which could be reached from Okhotsk by sea. The fortress Gishiginsk was founded by Okhotsk Cossacks in 1752, but the sea-route to Okhotsk was not opened until 1757. Between the years 1752 and 1756 hostile encounters continued to occur between Cossacks and the Koryak of the Okhotsk coast. The year 1756 is considered to be the last of the Koryak uprising. This, however, is only partly true. The annihilation of entire villages and settlements, the torture of prisoners, the capture of herds from the Reindeer Koryak, had broken their power of resistance only to a certain degree. The main cause of the cessation of wars with the Koryak lay in a change of policy on the part of the Russians. The commandant of the fortress Gishiginsk received orders not to send collectors of tribute to the Koryak villages and camps, but to propose to the Koryak chiefs that they deliver the tribute yearly at the fortress. We shall have occasion to see in how far that measure was conducive to the improvement of Russo-Koryak relations. Naturally there were at first very few Koryak groups who sent tribute voluntarily to Gishiginsk;[1] but experience had shown how futile it was to use force as a means of obtaining tribute.

The other cause of the wars lay in the national pride of the Russian conquerors, who insisted on breaking the stubborn resistance of alien peoples and on subjecting them to Russian rule. But here again experience had made it clear that the submission of these peoples was not worth the sacrifices which it cost. I am here referring only to the Koryak and Chukchee; for the related Kamchadal, being entirely sedentary, were more easily conquered by means of force. In the case of the Koryak, the modified policy of the conquerors finally led to the compromise just described. In regard to the Chukchee, however, it was decided to cease all further attempts to subjugate this people. The fortress Anadyrsk was entirely abolished in 1764 and the Administration transferred to Gishiginsk. Thus the wars of the Russians with the Koryak and Chukchee came to an end when the latter were entirely left to themselves.

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THE TRIBUTE. — "Yasak" is the term applied to the tribute in furs which the Russians imposed on the conquered Siberian peoples. The historians of Siberia agree that during the early periods of settlement the main factor attracting the Russians to Siberia was its widely heralded wealth in furs. For a time Siberian furs were an important financial item in the budget of the Russian Empire. How enormous the wealth in furs of Siberia was at

[1] As late as 1848 we find from the tribute records of the Gishiga district that the number of Reindeer Koryak who were assessed was 294; in the records of 1894 this number rises to 836; and, according to the census of 1897, the number of Reindeer Koryak in the Gishiga district is 2389.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

the beginning of the conquest is demonstrated by the fact that after the defeat of the Siberian Khan Kuchum, his dominion — i.e. the territory lying in the basin of the Obi River alone — was forced to pay to the Moscowite Czar a yearly tribute of 200,000 sables, 10,000 black foxes, and 500,000 squirrels of the best quality, besides beavers and ermines. Having discovered how profitable the fur trade was to the Treasury, the State was no longer satisfied with the tribute of furs, but began to monopolize the fur trade. In the beginning of the seventeenth century Czar Boris Godunoff decreed that the hunters and fur-traders deposit their merchandise in the Treasury for a fixed remuneration. The accumulated furs were placed in the care of a special department in Moscow, which disposed of them through its agents in Turkey, Persia, Bokhara, and, later, China. China in time became the largest and most profitable consumer of Siberian furs, for in exchange for its furs the Treasury would import from China chiefly gold and silver, with which the Moscowite empire paid for its wars.

After the Nerchinsk Treaty concluded by Peter the Great with the Chinese in 1689, the China trade continued to be Government monopoly until the year 1762.[1] In that year Empress Katerine II abolished the official caravans to Peking, leaving the trade, which was still based chiefly on furs, in the hands of private merchants. The free fur trade had a stimulating effect on the development of commercial relations between Siberia, European Russia, and the neighboring countries. The Treasury, on the other hand, no longer insisted that the tribute of Siberia be paid in furs exclusively. They were now free to pay their tribute in money, the amount being approximately estimated according to the value of the furs. Thus the field for official abuses was reduced, and the attitude of the natives towards the Russians began to improve.

The time of the attempts to subject the Koryak as well as the Kamchadal and Chukchee, coincides with the period of the Government monopoly in furs, when fur tribute was the cause for the sake of which thousands of men were tortured and killed whenever they refused or were not able to satisfy the rapaciousness of the foreign invaders. The tragedy of the situation for the natives lay in the fact that the sable, for whose fur the Russian demand was greatest, was a rare animal in the Koryak country, and did not occur at all in the territory of the Chukchee.

The question how tribute was levied, which was put afterwards on a definite basis by the so-called First Tribute (Yasak) Commission of 1762–66, is but superficially treated by the historians of Siberia. We do not know whether there existed before that commission definite and universally applied standards according to which the tribute to be paid by the hunters of this

[1] The State monopoly of the fur trade was first limited in 1727, but in 1752 the full Government monopoly was again introduced.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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or that people was estimated. From fragmentary bits of information we are justified in assuming that the amount of tribute to be levied was constantly decreased. The lowering of the standard obviously kept pace with the gradually decreasing numbers of fur-bearing animals, which was due to their extermination since the advent of the Russians to Siberia. According to Slovtzoff, in the beginning the tribute amounted to five sables for a single hunter, and ten for a married one: hence the conclusion seems justifiable, that in the beginning the wives of hunters had to pay their share. In some places from ten to twenty sables were required from the hunter; but the Government, says Slovtzoff (II, p. 62), was indulgent, and this rule was not always observed. In the second half of the seventeenth century we find a tribute of seven sables "per bow;" and, according to the Siberian census of 1722, the tribute levied amounted to three sables for each hunter; and finally, after the work of the First Tribute Commission, the amount paid by each hunter was fixed at one sable, or, in case no sable was available, at one fox-skin or one beaver-skin, etc. We know that the Chukchee altogether refused to pay fur tribute. This fact probably accounts for the circumstance, so puzzling to Baron Maydell, that the conquering activity of the Russians was more especially directed against the Chukchee, and not against the Koryak, although the attacks made by the latter on Russian detachments were far more frequent than those made by the Chukchee.

It is certain that one or another group of the Koryak was from time to time forced to pay tribute, although no references can be found as to the standard used in levying it, nor as to the total amount received. It seems, however, that the Koryak tribute was not very large from the start, and consisted rather of foxes than of the more valuable furs. Specific indications of the standard used in levying the tribute from the Kamchadal are also lacking; but, judging from certain available data, the amount collected from the Kamchadal must have been very considerable, the tribute consisting chiefly of expensive furs. Thus, when Atlassoff returned from his first expedition to Kamchatka, — after visiting only the people of the Kamchatka River, — he carried with him thirty-two hundred sables, many hundred foxes, about one hundred sea-otters, for the Treasury, and, as his private provision, four hundred sables and numerous other furs. In time the Kamchadal tribute from the whole peninsula increased in amount. According to the denunciation made by the Cossacks against Petrilofsky, one of the commanders in Kamchatka in the first half of the eighteenth century, the latter had "stolen" in the course of one year 5600 sables, 2000 foxes, 207 sea-otters, and 169 otters. Without any doubt, other commanders of Kamchatka were not far behind Petrilofsky in filling their purses at the expense of the Kamchadal.[1]

[1] Judging from a statement made by Krasheninnikoff, the official tribute of the Kamchadal was fixed at one sable to a hunter, even before the regulations of the First Tribute Commission. Thus, while referring to the begin-

1:Jochelson E-5 (1900-01)1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

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According to historical data referring to Siberia before the First Tribute Commission, the collectors in the native settlements and camps were Cossacks and officials, who received lists of all assessable men; that is, of adults capable of hunting. The details of this method of collecting tribute can no longer be ascertained. All we know is, that the illiterate collectors, who were in the majority, carried little sticks with notches to indicate the number of men assessed. Each hunter had to pay his own share.[1] In addition, however, the collectors expected presents for themselves, for the military commanders, and for other high officials. In some cases presents were sent to the Czar himself. These presents were known as the "gratuitous" or "complimentary" tribute (поминочный или поклонный ясакъ), as distinguished from the crown tribute or tribute proper (податной ясакъ).[2]

The collectors were accompanied to unsafe localities by Cossack escorts, who demanded their share of presents. Besides, the collectors carried with them merchandise for barter. Thus it happened that the furs which reached the Treasury were never of the best quality. In Kamchatka these practices were indulged in with exceptional freedom. In a country so far distant from the central Administration, the collectors and their men were in reality bands of robbers whose exploits would rouse the Kamchadal to fury and despair. Thus one of these collectors and his escort of twenty-five Cossacks were burned by the Kamchadal on the Avacha River, the Kamchadal hostages perishing with the rest. When the collector arrived, the Kamchadal greeted him with honors, assigned to him and his Cossacks a separate summer house on piles, and, promising to pay the tribute on the following morning, left hostages selected from among the best men of the village. At night, when the house was set on fire, the Kamchadal called to the hostages to escape; but they answered that they were in chains, and bade their people outside burn the house, leaving them to their fate.[3]

As far as the Koryak are concerned, it may, I think, be asserted, that not only was there no standard for the tribute, but that it was paid only once in a while, under direct compulsion of military parties; and after the foundation of the fortress Gishiginsk, the Koryak tribute became a voluntary contribution, which the representatives of the various Koryak groups themselves delivered at the fortress.

The task of the First Tribute Commission, which was appointed by

ning of the seventeenth century (II, p. 342), he tells of a collector who demanded from the Kamchadal two or three sables instead of one.

[1] During the early period of the conquest of Siberia, some heads of tribes with advanced social and political organization, like the khans of the Kirghiz and of some Tatar peoples of western Siberia, were bound to pay a certain yearly tribute in sables and other furs for the whole tribe. For example, the Tatar prince Yedigher had to pay yearly a thousand sables (see Fischer, Sibirische Geschichte, p. 182).

[2] There existed still another kind of tribute called "decimal" (десятинный). It was levied exclusively from Russian hunters in Siberia, who had to reserve for the Treasury the fur of every tenth animal killed.

[3] Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 352.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY1 Koryak RY4
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Empress Katherine, was to regulate the tribute question and to put an end to the abuses of the collectors. The reforms introduced by the commission were based on the following principles: 1. The tribute is to be paid by a representative for the entire clan or group; the further apportionment of the tribute is left to the natives themselves. 2. The representative of the group is to deliver the tribute in person to the administrative centre; collectors are abolished. 3. Subject to the tribute are native men from sixteen to sixty years of age, who are to be called "workers" or "tax souls." 4. Payment may be made in furs or in money, the amount being calculated in money for each person, and varying, in the case of fur payments, according to locality, the nature of the animals, and the current valuation of the latter.

These principles, with some additions and a general lowering of the amount of tribute to be paid, were accepted by the Second Tribute Commission (1828–35). The age of the "workers" was limited to men from eighteen to fifty. The number of "workers" of every clan was fixed by the census. The last census for this purpose was taken in 1859. The standards then established varied for different localities. Obviously for each locality, and even for each group and clan, it was fixed by mutual agreement of the representatives of the Treasury and of the natives. Even the so-called Koryak clans were until lately differently taxed. Thus, the tax of a "worker" from the Vivnik clan amounted to 2 rubles 86 kopeks, while that of a "worker" from the Alutor clan amounted only to 1 ruble 49 kopeks.[1] At present the Koryak of the Gishiga district are taxed uniformly at the rate of 1 ruble 15 kopeks per "worker." I have not been able to ascertain from the Archives since what date this last method of taxation was adopted. To illustrate the great reduction of the tribute, I will compare the last tax recorded, with the original one of ten sables per hunter. According to the data kept by the Administration of the Gishiga district for the year 1897, there were in that district 241 taxable Reindeer Koryak, and 407 Maritime Koryak. As there are more Reindeer Koryak in the Gishiga district than Maritime people (the census figures for 1897 are 2389 Reindeer and 2045 Maritime Koryak),[2] the data on the taxed population indicate that many of the Reindeer Koryak do not pay tribute, and the number 407 is also lower than the total number of men of the Maritime Koryak between the ages of eighteen and fifty.

According to the official report for 1897, the Koryak tribute for that year was paid, two thirds in furs, and one third in money. The official appraisement of furs is lower than their market price. The appraisement in rubles and kopeks is as follows, the valuation being given in each case for the fur without paws or tail.

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[1] See Archives of the Administration of the Gishiga District, No. 751, 1867.
[2] See p. 445.

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Sable (superior quality)	10.00
Sable (inferior quality)	8.00
White fox	1.50
Wolf	2.50
Red fox	2.00
Cross-fox	8.00
Ermine	0.08 [1]

The Itkana Koryak, who hunt fur-bearing animals very little, bring to Gishiginsk the skins of ground-seals, and bundles of thongs cut out of skins of ground-seals. Twenty-eight of them are tax-payers, their total tribute amounting to 32 rubles 20 kopeks. To cover that sum, their elder delivers to Gishiginsk ten ground-seal skins and six bundles of thongs. In the open market the skins alone would amount to 60 rubles, 6 rubles apiece.

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THE PRESENT RELATIONS OF THE RUSSIANS AND THE KORYAK. — The military conquest by Russia, of that part of Siberia where agriculture is impossible, could not call forth a voluntary agricultural colonization. The first Russian invaders were all hunters and soldiers. In the course of time they were joined by forced immigrants and exiled criminals. The colonial policy was in the beginning nothing but a means of reaching the Siberian peltry resources. The central Government was in the majority of cases benevolently inclined towards the natives. The local administrations were often instructed to be lenient in gathering tribute, and not to insult the natives; but these benevolent intentions could not be harmonized with the actual situation, where tribute had to be extorted from natives who were often unable to pay it. In order to comply with the requirements of the official agents, the native had to neglect the material needs of his family, and concentrate his entire energy on the hunt for fur-animals. Besides, the agents robbed the natives to their own advantage, committed violence, tortured and enslaved the men, carried away their women and children; and when the natives revolted, the agents claimed that the natives had arisen against the Czar's power.

Then the Government would send military parties to suppress the revolt and to punish the guilty. Of course, Russia did not act any worse than did many other nations regarding their colonial "possessions." Even now, the African negroes, for instance, revolt because the white intruders rob them of their land and of the natural products of their country, meanwhile burdening them with taxes to support the same Administration which suppresses them. In one respect the Russians were superior to other European colonizers, for they exhibited only to a moderate degree the consciousness of racial superiority over the natives, which other white peoples possess in a very exaggerated degree. The Siberian natives were not treated with contempt. When the greed of the Russian was satisfied or did not come to the foreground, the conqueror and the conquered would easily come to terms. On the whole,

[1] For the local market-price of the skins here mentioned, see p. 775.

1:Jochelson E-5 (1900-01)1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

for, which were generally granted by the chief, who was anxious to get rid of his tiresome guests. The results of the barter were very favorable to the Chukchee. They had received presents which in value greatly exceeded their tribute; the hides meanwhile were ceremoniously stamped with the official seal and despatched to the Court Treasury in St. Petersburg as a token of Chukchee submissiveness.[1] In other cases, like that of the Yukaghir, — to be treated in Vol. IX of this series, — even a very moderate tribute had a fatal effect on the economic life of the people.

In order to demonstrate to what extent the State expenditures for the northeastern districts exceed the revenues, I shall present the data for the Gishiga district. I have in my possession the official reports on that region for the year 1897. The total tribute for that year amounts to 1119 rubles (364 rubles in currency, and 755 in furs), of which sum the Koryak paid 745 rubles, and the Tungus 374. The "voluntary contributions" made by the Palpal Chukchee and Koryak at the Chukchee fair[2] amounted to another 73 rubles. The natives regard the tribute as a present to the Czar. As we have seen, it does not go to the State Treasury. The revenues of the Treasury from the district of Gishiginsk consisted of the so-called Zemstvo taxes[3] to the amount of 163 rubles, and taxes of merchants to the amount of 1606 rubles. I have not been able to obtain the exact figures of the expenditures for the administration of the district, but I consider 40,000 rubles a conservative estimate. The maintenance of the district chief, his assistant, the secretary, and their offices, amounts to no less than 12,000 rubles a year. The salary of the chief alone is 4500 rubles. Then follow the salaries of a priest in Gishiginsk, of a missionary, a physician, and two assistant surgeons, who also reside in Gishiginsk, and scarcely ever visit the Koryak camps and villages.[4] The last item is the maintenance of the Cossack detachment, which is the largest single expenditure in the budget for the administration of the district.

A few words should be said regarding the Gishiginsk Cossacks. Although these Cossacks are the descendants of the warriors who conquered Siberia, they are no longer military men, nor are they controlled by the Ministry of War. Since 1822 they have been under the Ministry of the Interior, and are used by the district chief for police and messenger services. This archaic institution of a staff of civil Cossacks still survives in all the district towns of the Province of Yakutsk, and among those of the Maritime Province

[1] Dr. S. I. Mitzkevic, the former physician of the Kolyma district, told me that during his visit to the Anui fair in 1901, the chief of the district did not bring any presents for the Chukchee tribute-payers; and the Chukchee of the Chukchee Peninsula, on being informed of this, requested the return to them of the tribute skins which they had given to the chief. Their request was granted.

[2] See p. 776.

[3] Since 1893 the Maritime Koryak and other settled peoples had to pay, in addition to the tribute, taxes amounting to 4 kopeks per soul. These taxes were raised to cover local expenses, such as repairs of roads, etc.

[4] This was true at least of the medical staff during my stay in the Gishiga district.

11: Kennan--54 T-3 (1865) 1870 Koryak
116, 651, 177.65 Russia
636.65

"The government under which all the inhabitants of Kamtchatka nominally live is administered by a Russian officer called an 'Ispravnik' or local governor, who is supposed to settle all questions of law which may arise between individuals or tribes, and to collect the annual 'yassák' or tax of furs, which is levied upon every male inhabitant in his province. He resides in Petropavlovski, and owing to the extent of country over which he has jurisdiction and the imperfect facilities which it affords for getting about, he is seldom seen outside of the village where he has his head-quarters."